

ANALYZING THE ELECTION

William L. Lucey

# SOCIAL ORDER

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Shadow across the Kremlin

Middle East Crisis: British View

The Elections and After

Christian Trade Unionism Trends

The Large Family

Legal Profession and Segregation

REVIEWS

• LETTERS

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Vol. VI

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# **SOCIAL ORDER**

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**INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL ORDER**

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# SOCIAL ORDER

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## SOCIAL ORDER

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3908 Westminster Place

St. Louis 8, Mo.

## ... just a few things:

WE FACE a Christmas overshadowed by events so momentous and so rapidly changing as to evoke three papal encyclicals in a single week. The social order envisaged by Christians of many countries, supporters of many movements such as our Institute, seems distant and dubious. The light of Bethlehem illuminates a world-scene of tyranny, rancour and desperate hunger. The Star must also enkindle a renewed determination: it was at the darkest hour of early November that the Holy Father exhorted all to work for "that peace which has its foundations in justice and liberty and which finds its vital nourishment in charity."

That it will be so, that the families of our readers and generous friends may know happiness and health and a fresh confidence in God's abiding Providence, is the Christmas wish of the members of the Institute and of the staff of SOCIAL ORDER. It is a wish these Fathers will reinforce by a remembrance in their Christmas Masses.

\*

MONSIGNOR BELA VARGA, who reviews the thrilling and tragic developments in East Europe and appraises the present strength of international communism, is the legal President of Hungary, the Constitution providing for the succession of the Speaker of Parliament (which Monsignor Varga was until the 1947 coup), should the President be prevented from fulfilling his duties.

Our election analyst, Father William L. Lucey, S.J., professor of American History at Holy Cross College, Worcester, Mass., was the first editor of the ISO Political Science Service Letter.

His latest book, *The Catholic Church in Maine*, has just gone to press.

American-born, Father Paul Crane, S.J., who sends us his first "Letter from England" (the first of many, we hope), is secretary of the Catholic Social Guild and editor of the *Christian Democrat*.

Archbishop Rummel, assisted by three other bishops, presided on the occasion the observations on the legal aspects of segregation were offered by Father Kenealy, Professor of Law at Loyola University of the South. Former Dean of the Boston College Law School, Father Kenealy is a member of the bar of Massachusetts, the District of Columbia and the United States Supreme Court.

Widely known in labor circles, Father Mortimer H. Gavin, S.J., was Director of the Labor-Management Center at Boston when called to the ISO. Another staff member, Father John L. Thomas, S.J., who comments on the place of the large family in our day, is the author of *The American Catholic Family* (Prentice-Hall).

\*

PLEASE NOTE the little advertisement on p. 490, the message on the back cover and the order-form inserted at the center of this issue—they are all meant to remind you of a very good gift suggestion. May we not hope for your special cooperation in this Christmas campaign?

It's an easy way to take care of presents, says the managing editor, and a wonderful way to help SOCIAL ORDER, we all say.

E. D., S.J.

# SHADOW ACROSS THE KREMLIN

Men will always rise  
to throw off tyrants who  
oppress liberty-loving human nature

BELA VARGA

How stands international communism as a present threat to us all after "the ten days that shook the world?"

How strong today is the international power apparatus centrally directed from the Kremlin with branch offices in every quarter of the globe docilely awaiting the newest directive of the infallible masters of mankind's destiny?

Buttressed by the unchallengeable armed might of oriental hordes, supported by the unquestioning allegiance of intelligent and resourceful, traitorous local agents everywhere, bolstered by an espionage network of incredible efficiency, reinforced by absolute control over personal movement, employment and even food, backed by a ruthless, ever-present local police and the cheap labor of an enormous prison population, this mad, messianic system seemed in total control of 600 million helpless slaves and to be marching from success to ever more striking and frightening success in the face of the disunion and the timorousness of the feckless free world.

Trickery, coupled with the callous brutality of 15 Soviet divisions, had to be employed to deprive the unorgan-

ized, practically unarmed people of Hungary of the freedom they had almost recovered by their own reckless courage and without a gesture of outside help.

A week earlier the pride of Polish love of independence had defied the naked threat of Khrushchev, Stalin's heir, and had forced the cancellation of orders, already being executed, for the encirclement and the storming of Warsaw. Student demonstrations in Bucharest, parades of protest in East Germany, the embarrassed disavowal of Soviet terror tactics by the kept communist journals of New York, London, Rome and Pekin forced a momentary concession from the Kremlin that its satellite policy would be restudied and even that its occupation troops would be withdrawn.

So bottomless was the infamy of the Soviet attack on defenseless Budapest before dawn on November 4th, that Pandit Nehru has found the courage to join Mohammed Natsir, political leader of Indonesia's Moslems, in denouncing Soviet brutality. Even Jean-Paul Sartre and Signor Pietro Nenni found their long love affair with the Soviet cooling.

How strong, then, is international communism today and what should be our policy as we confront its menace?

There are two extreme opinions on the actual strength of international communism, it seems to me. The first believes that the power of the Kremlin reaches with sure effectiveness into every corner of the globe; any trouble in this valley of tears is attributed automatically to Soviet strength by the proponents of this view. While the international communist conspiracy welcomes trouble anywhere, to be sure, and does its best to create unrest wherever it can, the Kremlin's writ does not run unimpeded throughout the world. We should not, therefore, sit paralyzed before the prospect of an inevitable ultimate Soviet conquest of mankind.



The second opinion underestimates the present power of international communism. There are wishful thinkers (how many can remain duped after the recent events in Hungary?) and determined exponents of a coexistence-at-all-costs policy who have persuaded themselves that the menace is a fiction promoted by propagandists and that, in any case, the United States is not imperilled. Such intellectual innocence or duplicity or perversity (whatever its motivation) closes its eyes to a palpable fact: international communism is an

ideology-on-the-march, promising to solve the problems besetting all mankind; it is, further, an idea directing the best-organized totalitarian power apparatus in human history; this apparatus, moreover, routinely employs treason, deception and massive force to gain its ends; finally, its announced goal is world conquest. The free world can forget these facts only if it ceases to value its own survival.

### An Essential Weakness

Force is of the essence of the Soviet system; communism is imposed only by force (it has never won a free election anywhere—even in Russia); it survives only by force. The possibilities of an essential change, then, are about as promising (on the authority of Nikita Khrushchev, himself) as those of "a shrimp learning to whistle." No campaign of smiles, no damning of the dead Stalin make democratic methods conceivable. Less than two months ago Khrushchev told a group of French visitors, who were inquiring about the eventual possibility of another political party in the Soviet Union, that if his children heard him even entertaining such a conjecture they would shout: "Papa, have you lost your mind?"

International communism, however, has an essential, irremediable weakness: it is against human nature. The human person is the secure stronghold against any permanent victory of communism. The men of the Kremlin and their *gauleiters* in the Soviet-occupied countries could build their empire (as the unlamented Mattyas Rakosi admitted) only by armed force and naked terror. As soon as the enduring human spirit compels a relaxation of that regime of force, the empire of international com-

munism (as recent events have demonstrated) begins to collapse; it can only be reimposed (as present events are making tragically clear) by unrestricted terror which will in turn evoke new resistance (as future events will show) from the human spirit's unquenchable assertion of its essential dignity.

### **Freedom or Slavery**

The Soviet system cannot ultimately defeat human nature.

Mikhail Aleksandrovich Bakunin, who never lived to see communism seize a government, knew the goal of that sort of power. "No dictatorship," he declared, "can have any other aim than that of self preservation and it can only beget slavery in the people tolerating it." The peoples of East Europe, as events have shown, have only tolerated tyranny because it was backed by overwhelming force. They have refused to become slaves. It has required the brutal might of the Soviet army to achieve the shameful result described by the Holy Father in his recent encyclical, *Datis Nuper*, on the crime against Hungary. ". . . national institutions, hardly established, have been overthrown and destroyed, human rights have been violated and a new servitude has been imposed upon the blood-drenched people by foreign arms."

The movements of resistance behind the Iron Curtain illustrate this essential weakness of international communism. The main motivation of the uprising in Hungary and the stirrings in Poland and East Germany is the need people find for an existence befitting their essential nature and dignity, for a decent life in a society which recognizes basic and inalienable human

rights. Pent-up for years, this natural tendency will explode at the first opportunity. Force is powerless—in the long run—to suppress human nature.

Man is inherently religious. Few peoples cherish more their religious traditions than the spiritual heirs of Sts. Cyril and Methodius and the spiritual sons of St. Stephen. International communism is at permanent war with the idea of God and fanatic in its determination to remove the memory and



influence of Christ from the world He saved. The tactic of the Soviet war on religion sometimes changes but its determination, first to tame the churches so that they serve its imperialist purposes and ultimately to destroy all supernatural sanctions, remains inflexibly fixed.

In October, I described the progress of the atheist campaign in an address to the Catholic Institute of the Press along these lines.

After the war, the Soviets tried to propagate the Russian Orthodox religion. Hungary is 70% Roman Catholic and 25% Protestant, religions that belong to the West. Their attempted "conversion" failed dismally. The Hungarian people refused the Russian Orthodox church completely. Except for a few communists, nobody joined it.

The Soviets then started a long-range policy against Christianity and Semi-

tism. They created the so-called "Peace Movement" among the priests, ministers and rabbis. This was not very successful at first, but now, after ten years of forcing this movement, the situation gave cause for anxiety.

### Pressure on Church

The Soviets next annihilated religious orders, schools and seminaries. For propaganda purposes, a few were allowed to remain, such as the four Catholic seminaries which are all that are left from the countless institutions of this sort in Hungary. The 1000-year-old Bakonbel monastery of the Benedictines has been turned into a school for communist leaders' children. Zirc, an 800-year-old monastery, has been converted into a training center for communist agitators. Other institutions have suffered a similar fate.

Aspiring priests cannot receive the necessary education to take Orders. Since many of the older priests have died or are in prison, there will eventually be no one to take their place. Permission from the state is required of the men who wish to be ordained. Naturally the state does not give permission to the outstanding young men who could be strong leaders in the Church. The less able ones receive permission, but they are usually "infiltrated" and members of the Peace Movement. Even to attend a seminary, a young man must get state permission and, needless to say, those who are not obedient puppets are denied it. It is interesting to note that these two laws were not enforced until last summer.

It is significant that one of the first effects of the defiance in Poland was the release of Stefan Cardinal Wyszinski from his monastery prison near the

Soviet border and the restoration of his effective authority as Archbishop of Warsaw. Early in the uprising, Hungary's freedom fighters broke into the jail of the political police in Felsopeteny to free Cardinal Mindszenty, the martyr Primate and acknowledged personification of the nation's undaunted resistance to communism. Two tanks of the Hungarian Army were guarding His Eminence's residence in Buda when he was forced to seek asylum in the U. S. Embassy from which he must watch the supposedly "national" communist, Janos Kadar, rule the country with Soviet bayonets.

The abiding Christian foundation of East European civilization was voiced by the freed Cardinal of Hungary over Radio Budapest at the moment when the truth could again be publicly expressed:

We Hungarians want to live and act as the standard bearers of family peace between European nations, a peace not artificially proclaimed but a peace which means true friendship between nations.

After the communist-promoted hate campaigns, the people rejoiced to hear their spiritual leader declare Hungary's gratitude to Austria and the desire of the "little nations" of the area to live "in friendship and in mutual respect with the great United States and with the mighty Russian empire alike" and to enjoy "good neighborly relations" with one another.

Economic distress, the inevitable result of the Soviet system, is a partial explanation of the bitter resistance of the people of East Europe to international communism.

On the strength of extensive travels through the entire Soviet empire nearly

a year ago, Mr. Cyrus L. Sulzberger, foreign correspondent of the New York *Times*, came upon clear evidence of universal and essential flaws in the common economic system. In his current book, *The Big Thaw*, he lists four failures in the system itself which he believes will force progressive surrenders to human nature: "1. A housing crisis in the cities, 2. an agricultural crisis on the land, 3. an administrative crisis, except at the highest level and 4. an absence of pepper on the table."

### Economic Crumbling

Inefficient but dictatorial management has wrecked the economies of the East European countries. The standard of living of the satellite countries keeps sinking: the rioting workers of Poznan cried for "Bread" as well as "Liberty!" Socialism simply doesn't work: human nature cannot be permanently frustrated. That is one of the meanings of the revolt in East Europe.

Not merely were the local *gauleiters* of international communism monstrously inefficient. The economies of the East European countries have been systematically exploited for the benefit of the Soviet Union, their production geared to purposes dictated in the Kremlin, their output stolen.

The standard of living of the Soviet people is miserably low compared to that of the West or even to that of East Europe, a fact openly admitted by the Kremlin bosses of the supposedly "new course." And yet, there are those who profess to be impressed by the progress and achievements of Soviet industry; an achievement, it should be remembered, that rests on slave labor and the exploitation of the workers.

A frightening percentage of that achievement must be attributed to the forced contributions of the 100 million people of the captive nations of East Europe.

An example of this is a shipyard of Budapest which produced 72 river and sea-going ships during the past ten years. Seventy-one were sent to Russia. One remained in Hungary. The oil industry of Hungary has suffered tremendously also. Under Soviet orders, the wells were pumped too much and too fast with the result that a once oil-rich country has not enough of that product for her own consumption. Many of the wells can now only produce water.

Another of Hungary's valuable assets is uranium. Russia enjoys almost the sole benefits from this while keeping the uranium workers under such miserable conditions that many of them have died.

All of East Europe is little more than a vast Soviet colony exploited beyond its capacity. No wonder there is economic distress, leading to restlessness and ending in open revolt.

Since the conditions of police terror and progressive impoverishment are the same throughout the East European countries, it is idle to seek for essential differences in the recent resistance in Poland and Hungary. In both countries—indeed throughout all the captive countries—the whole nation made clear its opposition to international communism. The fact is not surprising: the driving force of the resistance everywhere was the refusal, the impossibility, of human nature to accommodate itself to the ideology and the actuality of international communism.

It is true, of course, that the uprising in Hungary was touched off by the demonstration of the students and by the writers of the Petőfi club. The workers and, indeed, the entire nation joined in the revolt in a matter of hours, however. As a matter of fact, the most significant feature of the Hungarian revolution was the leading part played by students, young writers and workers, all supposedly adequately indoctrinated and well-disposed to communism. Nor should the desertion of elements of the Soviet army to the forces of Hungarian independence be forgotten. Here is striking proof that no amount of indoctrination can change essential human nature nor smother the normal human instinct for justice and decency.

### Explosions Bound to Come

While the suddenness of the rebellion in the western provinces of what was assumed to be a single, secure Soviet empire surprised the world, resistance to communism had been steadily mounting. An explosion was inevitable. The new regimes in East Europe endeavored to stave off open rebellion by concessions; the concessions were not enough nor was the sincerity of those offering them believed.

It was not that the puppet regimes were challenged by an organized resistance. Such an effort is inconceivable under a totalitarian regime. Every honest person in East Europe (and in Russia, for that matter, I am sure) hates the system of communism and pent-up hatred needs only a spark to touch off a general explosion.

Would one be justified in seeing in the "ten days which shook the world"

the beginnings of the break-up of the empire of international communism? As I write, the last feeble tragic messages are coming in from the secret radio transmitters as the Soviet night covers beleaguered Budapest. The *New York Times* has editorialized:

We accuse the Soviet Government of murder . . .

Hatred and pity, mourning and admiration, these are our emotions today: hatred for the men and the system which did not hesitate to shed new rivers of innocent Hungarian blood to reimpose slavery; pity for the Soviet soldiers, duped into thinking they were fighting "Fascists" when they killed defenseless or nearly defenseless men, women and children; mourning and admiration for the heroic Hungarian people who feared not even death to strike for freedom.

Has the revolt, then, failed?

Certainly, the masters of the Kremlin are determined to restore their empire by terror. No one can predict for how long they will succeed. The present courageous revolt of defenseless people may well be the beginning of the end but how far away, in reality, that end is depends greatly upon the moral, material and military strength of the West. Any division now in the western world, any betrayal of moral principles, serves only to strengthen international communism at a moment when it has been seriously shaken by the spent blood of people determined to be free.

An example of the betrayal of moral principles is the suggestion that the West should support "national" communism as a policy acceptable to the peoples of the captive nations. The events in Hungary make clear that communism, even when clothed in national colors, is loathed; reports from

other East European countries reveal an identical attitude. "National" communism, like "international" communism, can be imposed and maintained only by force, for, as an ideology and as a system, it is similarly opposed to human nature. It may be a lesser evil, but it is an evil just the same. And what is evil cannot be called good on the grounds that it may be a lesser evil.

### No Mutations

Nor should it be forgotten that "national" communist, Josef Broz Tito, promptly endorsed the regime of ostensibly "national" communist, Janos Kadar, who had called in Soviet forces to murder defenseless fellow-countrymen. Or are we to believe, in our eagerness to distinguish between supposed species of communists, that the type suddenly suffers mutations (as in the case of Kadar) within the matter of a week, depending upon the climate of outside events?

It is not wrong to tolerate injustice when one is helpless to change matters; it is not reprehensible to put up with an unjust political system as a lesser evil (providing it does not command things which are intrinsically wrong) in the hope of a better future. What is wrong, what is intolerable, what is reprehensible is the advocacy of an unjust system as a good thing. What is evil is a political policy forcing such a system upon other nations, fully entitled to elementary freedom and basic human rights, under the guise of supporting a regime of "national" communism, hypocritically described as answering the people's patriotic aspirations.

Late on Sunday, November 4, 1956, radio receivers in Europe caught a faint

signal. The listeners heard this message:

This word may be the last from the last Hungarian freedom station. People of the world, list to our call . . . Please do not forget that this wild attack of Bolshevism will not stop. You may be the next victim. Save us. SOS-SOS. Our ship is sinking. The light vanishes. The shadows grow darker and darker from hour to hour. Listen to our cry. Start moving. Extend to us brotherly hands . . .

God be with you and with us!

That voice is now silent. But not altogether. It is at work stirring the conscience of free men everywhere, summoning them to union against a common enemy. And you may be sure that echoes of that voice ring on in the Kremlin corridors, reminding the directors of the international conspiracy that the demands of human nature for a recognition of its essential dignity cannot be permanently smothered.

There is a spectre that is haunting Europe. Its shadow has fallen across the Kremlin's walls. It is the spectre of free men who are not afraid to die fighting injustice and who, therefore, never cease to live.

The world has now been warned by the Hungarian slaughter beyond all possibility of continued self-deception, and perhaps for the last time, of the fate communism has reserved for it. More than that, it has been summoned to defend itself. In an impassioned radio appeal to the world on November 10, Pope Pius XII called on the free people to "close their ranks as quickly as possible and link in a solid public pact those governments and people which want the world to proceed on the path to honor and dignity for the children of God."

## TRENDS IN

# Christian Trade Unionism

MORTIMER H. GAVIN, S.J.

INTERESTED observers here and in Germany watched with misgivings the re-establishment of Christian trade unions in Germany just a year ago. Some Catholics and Protestants, long dissatisfied as a frustrated minority in the Socialist-dominated general trade union federation, made the break and re-formed a Christian trade union movement at Essen October 31, 1955. The vast majority of Christians, however, remained within the original federation, maintaining that their moral aims and purposes would be better served by working within the larger central body. The German bishops announced, after the break, that each Catholic worker was free to decide his own course in the matter.

Now, a year later, reports from Bonn indicate that the new Christian unions have made small headway. They number less than 20,000 members compared with the better than 6 million in the ranks of the DGB (Deutsche Gewerkschaftsbund). Efforts of the Christian group to establish cooperative liaison with the larger federation have been rebuffed.

It appears unlikely that the Christian unions will grow very rapidly in prestige or effectiveness. There are some who feel that they should never have been re-organized. Thoughtful Germans must be remembering the warnings of Karl Arnold during the days preceding the split. A prominent leader in the old Christian trade unions before 1933, he declined to join the recent secession, fearing it would only weaken the general labor movement in Germany. "Although many of my friends are sympathetic to this issue," he said, "I can, nevertheless, not encourage them to take this road." But one thing does seem sure today: the very existence of the new Christian unions has evoked from the Socialist majority and leadership within the DGB a greater respect for the active Catholics remaining within that unified federation.

Yet, closer to home, a quite different trend appears among the only Catholic unions in North America—the Canadian and Catholic Confederation of Labor. Composed almost entirely of French-speaking Catholics in Quebec and the fringes of that Province, the

CTCC boasts a membership of nearly 100,000. The scattered and small beginnings of this Christian trade union at the turn of the century blossomed after World War I with strong encouragement—and often with close control—of the bishops and clergy of the Province. Distrust of the AFL, and later of the CIO, as non-French organizations with alien leadership and headquarters outside the country, strengthened the exclusivism of the Catholic unions—an exclusivism which many observers remark as peculiarly native



to the French Quebec mentality. Nevertheless, alongside these Catholic unions the AFL and the later CIO grew also in strength and numbers in Quebec. Their rivalries have been marked with great bitterness until fairly recent years.

Despite this "heritage of conflict" the CTCC at their Montreal convention last September formally approved in principle the affiliation of their group with the recently unified Canadian Labor Congress. This latter organization is the amalgam of the former AFL and CIO groups in Canada, long known under their titles of The Trades and Labor Congress of Canada and The Canadian Congress of Labor. These two federations merged officially through joint convention action at Toronto at the end of April, 1956, following the example of the stateside AFL-CIO merger of December, 1955. The new Canadian Labor Congress has since

taken in the One Big Union, a 12,000-member independent group centering around Winnipeg. The Catholic Confederation is the only major group still outside the CLC, except for some railroad units.

Affiliation has received strong majority approval by delegates at the CLC merger convention in April, and by those of the Catholics at their September meeting. (But to the astonishment and annoyance of CTCC leaders, an invited guest observer from the International Federation of Christian Trade Unions actively lobbied at the Montreal convention against passage of the resolution to approve affiliation!) Yet there are still some hurdles ahead. Although observers at the CLC Toronto convention reported 85 percent of the delegates as favoring full and unconditional acceptance of the Catholic unions, internal political tactics of a very few intermediate leaders put over a revised resolution which technically prevents full entry of the Catholic unions until ratification of their affiliation by the next CLC convention. That will not be until 1958. Meanwhile the leaders of the CLC and of the CTCC are continuing discussions and plans for merger at the earliest date possible, and they have indicated there will be close collaboration between the two organizations meantime.

Just ten years ago such a marriage of labor in Quebec would have been unthinkable. Full explanation of the turnaround would need several volumes to detail, but some elements are clear.

First, external circumstances have influenced both the former AFL and CIO groups in Quebec as well as the Catholic unions. Quebec is one of the

most highly industrialized areas of the Dominion. Many American firms have been establishing branch plants there; these Canadian affiliates are legally incorporated in Canada and are under management of Canadian executives. The labor organizations, too, naturally follow parallel patterns.

### Costly Rivalry

Dominion and, to a lesser extent, Provincial labor and social legislation has borrowed from United States experience, with adaptations to Canadian traditions and needs. Organized labor groups in Canada realize the same need for unified action in the political and legislative field as has the AFL-CIO in this country.

Then there are the other costs of jurisdictional rivalry. There is the weakening of disparate organizations vis-a-vis the employer when the latter is able to play off one group against the other. There is the loss of public esteem resulting from open bickerings and jealousies in labor. There is the loss of effective influence on public officials and legislators resulting from divided counsels and representations. These weaknesses have been gradually borne in upon the consciousness of Canadian labor no less than on the awareness of their stateside counterparts.

Internal changes also have contributed to this change of attitude on the part of Catholic leaders and of AFL-CIO leaders in Quebec.

There have been changes in the thinking of the clergy; many labor chaplains and bishops as well show recognition of the need for Catholics to collaborate with the general labor movement. Such modification of atti-

tudes is partly due to the normal and natural phenomenon of younger men arriving at positions formerly held by elders raised in a more protected and autonomous milieu. It is also due in part to the normal process of recognition of currently changing circumstances. There is continual accommodation required to meet altered realities. Both clergy and laymen in leadership positions manifest clear vision of new needs.

Then, too, the very nature of the stateside and Canadian labor movement makes it easier for the Catholics of Canada to unite with their "neutral" fellow unionists. The long-standing fear of Quebec labor leaders and clergy has been that corruption and a lowering of ideals would almost necessarily follow from any close collaboration with the secularist and "un-Christian" unions of the United States. And the old TLC and CCL were inextricably entwined with the parent federations of the United States. Quebec labor and clergy in the specifically Catholic federation—it might be remembered that many other Quebec Catholics have always belonged to units of the AFL and CIO—looked upon the labor federations of the United States as though they were of the same breed as the anti-clerical, anti-religious, Socialist labor organizations of the European continent.

It was a tragic misappraisal, for reasons Peter Drucker has brilliantly expounded.

We do not have, to be sure, a "Christian trade union federation" such as is commonplace on the Continent. It is a concept alien alike to our tradition of political action and of spiritual life. Yet it is quite wrong to conclude therefrom, as practically every European labor leader has been doing, that our labor movement

is "non-religious," perhaps like that of Great Britain. On the contrary, this totally non-denominational labor movement may well be much closer to organized religion than the typical European "Christian" union. There exists the closest and most intimate bond between the Catholic Church and some locals of the United Automobile Workers or the United Steel Workers, between Protestant churches and some locals of the United Rubber Workers, or between Jewish congregations and Garment Workers' locals in New York.<sup>1</sup>

This same close relationship of religion and labor in this country made it possible for Daniel Bell to write in his survey of labor at mid-century that:

Never have left-wing ideologies had so little influence on the American labor movement as they have today. . . . If there is any ideological influence in American labor today, it is Catholic union theory—spread by a growing number of labor priests and Catholic labor schools.<sup>2</sup>

It is into this kind of labor movement that the Canadian and Catholic Confederation of Labor has decided to move. It would seem that labor leaders in Quebec Catholic circles are at least one jump ahead of their elder brothers in Europe, in their current judgment of American-Canadian "neutral" unionism. In the early Fall of 1956, Mr. August Vanistendael, General Secretary of the International Federation of Christian Trade Unions, wrote from his headquarters in Brussels an open letter to George Meany, president of the AFL-CIO, and it appeared in the IFCTU bulletin *Labor* (which this present writer has not readily at hand). Among other things, Mr. Vanistendael com-

plained that "American trade unions seem to be unable to cooperate with such European unions as are based on *Rerum Novarum* and Christian principles." It must be admitted that there has been some apparent leaning toward and evident favoring of Socialist unions by American labor representatives on the European scene. Mr. Meany was able to reply, however, with all candor and truth that the basic principles defined in the social encyclicals of the popes "are accepted by the great majority of American trade unionists irrespective of their religious beliefs."



Perhaps, almost as a footnote, it is in place to mention that this George Meany is the one who on October 18, 1955, was awarded the Laetare Medal, at a dinner where a very thoughtful address on "The Church and Labor" was delivered by the Most Reverend Patrick A. O'Boyle, Archbishop of Washington. In that address Archbishop O'Boyle observed in measured terms that Mr. Meany "has already become, in the Providence of God, the most important and most influential labor leader in the world."<sup>3</sup> With the Catholic workers' unions of Quebec on the point of being incorporated into his family of organizations, he will enjoy yet greater influence.

<sup>1</sup> Peter Drucker, "Organized Religion and the American Creed," *The Review of Politics*, 18 (July, 1956) p. 297.

<sup>2</sup> Daniel Bell, "The U. S. Labor Movement," Chapter V of *USA: The Permanent Revo-*

*lution*, Prentice-Hall, New York, 1951. The book is a reprint of the special 21st anniversary edition of *Fortune*, February, 1951. In the book, Bell's quote is on pp. 95-96.

<sup>3</sup> Archbishop O'Boyle's address is reprinted in *The Catholic Mind*, February, 1956, pp. 81-86.

# Middle East Crisis

## -- *a British View*

PAUL CRANE

The Anglo-French action against Egypt is easy to understand, but impossible to condone. That, so far as we can see, is the only comment that can be made at this stage in the rapid succession of events which began with the advance of Israeli forces into the Sinai Desert on the night of Monday, October 29th.

Two months ago the writer of this "Letter from England" argued that Britain had a moral case for the employment of force as a means of last resort to secure the deposition of Colonel Nasser. We did so on the ground that the Egyptian dictator, by his seizure of the Canal, had shown himself to be without regard for international agreements. To have such an individual astride a waterway of vital importance to Britain and Western Europe constituted, in itself, a grave and permanent threat to the existence of both. Therefore, we argued further, in the absence of an international police force, there was a moral case for the employment of force, as a means of last resort, to secure the removal of that threat.

Force, we wrote at the time, could not be used morally to secure compensation for the expropriated Suez Canal Company, for this had already been secured in adequate measure by the Anglo-French freezing of Egyptian assets. However, police action, taken to remove Colonel Nasser, could not be set within the condemned category of preventive war.

We added that expediency, at least, dictated recourse to the United Nations before resort was had to force: it dictated, likewise, that the most careful consideration be given to the world situation before military action was taken. We expressed the opinion that Britain was entitled to seek, as a sign of Colonel Nasser's good faith, the willingness of the Egyptian dictator to place the Canal under some form of international control. Were he to do that, the threat he embodied by his seizure of the Canal would be most certainly diminished.

That was our position taken two months ago and we believe it to have been a quite valid one.

In the event, Britain and France took

their case to the United Nations and the very fact that they did so meant, in the words of the *Economist*, their commitment "to put force for the present out of their minds and to follow the path of negotiation, every yard, to the utmost extent that it remains open." Both countries had all the more reason for continuing to negotiate in view of the backing given by the Security Council to the "six requirements" for a Suez settlement, conditions which Britain, France and Egypt had accepted in principle at the United Nations on October 12th.

Having agreed to the "six requirements," at least as constituting a basis of negotiation, I fail to see how Britain and France were justified in casting them aside as they did implicitly when they sent Egypt the 12-hour ultimatum. Force was not invoked as a last resort as it should have been; and that is the first reason why the Anglo-French initiative cannot be condoned.

But are the two occasions—the original dispute over the Canal and the present intervention—not separable? And, surely, Britain's commitment within the "six requirements" in no way constrains her every action in the Middle East? Was there not a case for intervention to stop the fighting between Egypt and Israel; to prevent with arms little wars from turning into big? Unhappily, Britain and France made no attempt to keep the issues separate. They appear to have intervened in the Israeli-Egyptian War, not primarily to stop the fighting, but basically to knock Nasser on the head. On the evidence available at the moment, we must assume that the Anglo-French intervention served merely as a pretext for a larger and older purpose, which was the

destruction of the Egyptian president; but that is precisely what Britain and France were not morally permitted to do until the course of negotiation, however irritating, had run its course.

### Pretext for Destruction

That the Anglo-French intervention was merely a pretext for the destruction of the Nasser regime seems only too clear. How else explain the terms of the ultimatum, weighted so heavily, as they were, against the possibility of Egyptian compliance; the deception of the Americans; the discarding of the Tripartite Declaration of 1950; the vetoing in the Security Council of a resolution (put, admittedly, by the Soviets) calling on Israel and Egypt to withdraw?

Had Britain and France been determined on intervention in order to keep the peace, they would have worked with the parties to the Tripartite Declaration and, if possible under the authority of the UN, to force a withdrawal on both sides—if necessary, at the bayonet point—and, thus, impose a just peace on the whole of the troubled Middle Eastern area. This, however, is precisely what Britain and France did not do and that is why their action cannot be condoned.

There remains a third reason why, so far as we can see, the Anglo-French action was unpardonable; and that reason must be sought in its timing. At a moment when Eastern Europe was erupting in fury against the Soviets, Britain and France chose a course of action bound, of its very nature, to divert the attention of the world from the glory of Hungary's matchless bid for freedom.

That in itself was a tragedy; but, moreover and more importantly, the Anglo-French action split the West and thus weakened the mounting moral pressure against Moscow at the very moment when that pressure needed to be at its highest. In the event, Anglo-French opportunism gave the Kremlin the perfect excuse for ordering its tanks once more into Budapest. Had Britain and France not intervened when they did, the Soviet empire in Eastern Europe might now lie stretched in ruins. In the loss of that fantastic chance lies the real measure of Anglo-French guilt. It cannot be light.

### No Self-Satisfaction

No Englishman, least of all the writer, will derive any joy from the analysis outlined above. Neither is any American entitled to derive one particle of self-satisfaction from it. Any of my transatlantic friends whose reaction is one of complacency should start to think hard again. In our opinion, Anglo-French action in Egypt cannot be condoned. It can be most certainly understood, however, as an exasperated reaction to the mental gyrations round the Suez Canal crisis of Mr. John Foster Dulles, America's Secretary of State. It is time we turned for a moment to that gentleman and his works.

In the first place, no competent observer doubts but that the crisis, which culminated in the Anglo-French intervention, was touched off originally by the sudden decision of Mr. Dulles to renege on promised financial aid to Egypt for the building of the high dam at Aswan on the Nile. Neither can there be any doubt that the phrasing of the note containing that decision was, to say the very least, extremely unfor-

tunate: it has been well described by a competent observer<sup>1</sup> as "brusquely couched, insulting and calculated to offend any nation's sense of honour." Furthermore, it is believed by many (including the writer of this article) that the American government withdrew financial support for the Aswan Dam for two reasons of purely domestic politics of which

the first and more important was the fear that, in New York State, a key State in a presidential election year, the large Jewish vote might be cast for the Democrats if assistance continued to be granted to the Egyptians, now considered as the Soviet-equipped spearhead of the anti-Israel forces in the Middle East. Secondly, the Southern cotton interests did not relish aid being given to Egypt, one of their traditional rivals. Therefore, by this crude Note, the American Government lost a fine opportunity of working out a new international agreement on the fair distribution and control of the Nile waters. In its place Nasser was given a ready-made chance to rouse Egyptian opinion against the West and to take his revenge by nationalizing the Suez Canal.<sup>2</sup>

Americans who are inclined to point a finger at British perfidy should remember that in the eyes of many abroad their government stands charged at the moment with the original responsibility for the present crisis. To score election points at home, it is said to have jeopardized acutely the position of its friends abroad. That, too, is perfidy and it becomes the worse if, as is alleged, the American note to Colonel Nasser was not shown to the British Government until after it had been sent to Cairo.

(Continued on next page)

<sup>1</sup> Eversley Belfield in an article entitled "Suez Canal and the Middle East", in the *Christian Democrat*, November, 1956, p. 536.

<sup>2</sup> Belfield, op. cit., p. 537.

Moreover, Secretary Dulles' somersaults with regard to the Suez Canal Users' Association (SCUA) have only added to the feeling most Englishmen have, *viz.* that the American Secretary of State never intended, really, to assist England and France actively to secure the lawful redress of their rights with regard to the Suez Canal.

The climax came on October 14th when, in the early hours of the morning, the British Foreign Secretary discovered that Mr. John Foster Dulles regarded SCUA not as a punitive weapon to force Egypt to a settlement but, rather, as a means of conciliating Colonel Nasser. In the opinion of many in this country, the change came at that point: the decision in favor of force was taken two days later, they believe, on October 18th at a meeting in Paris between the British and French Premiers. The decision may have been wrong but it is entirely understandable and the American Secretary of State is felt to bear a large load of responsibility. He is not exactly popular in Britain today.

Good will be brought out of this Egyptian episode if the UN, despite itself, one feels, is equipped with a sharp set of teeth. It is to the interest of the world organization that this should occur for, unless so equipped, it will die as the League died before it—of a surfeit of its own hot air.

That is the first real good that must be drawn from the present situation. The second is that a lasting and durable peace be imposed on the Middle East; that the void, in that crucial cockpit of the world, be filled no longer by communism masquerading behind a malignant nationalism, but by a sensible just and well-drawn balance of power.

# The

WILLIAM L. LUCEY

THE pollsters were pleased the day after the elections. Discreetly hedging to protect themselves against another 1948 cropper, they had agreed from the start of the campaign that President Eisenhower was running briskly ahead of his presidential opponent, Adlai Stevenson. They also agreed that the Democratic party was numerically stronger than the Republican on the national level and better organized on the state and local levels. They anticipated a Republican administration compelled to work with a Democratic Congress.

The voters supported the pollsters. Eisenhower won easily, again breaking the solid South which had been traditionally the Democrat's safe-conduct to the White House. Clearly Eisenhower was more popular than the Republican party; it also appeared that Democrats were more popular than Eisenhower, for the Democrats won control of Congress.

The voters ignored the President's plea for a Republican Congress; in Oregon, Douglas McKay who resigned as Secretary of the Interior to eliminate Senator Morse, an ex-Republican, was defeated. This was unprecedented in modern American politics. The voters

A close observer points out some special features of the 1956 campaign and election and some probable results

# The Elections and After

in a national election, when the entire House of Representatives and one-third of the Senate are elected, have traditionally given the President a Congress controlled by his own party. One must go back more than a century, to 1848 and Zachary Taylor, to find a similar situation; then, too, the elected President was a general, a war hero who had shown little active interest in politics and preferred to be a non-party presidential candidate.

Stevenson's defeat may also set a precedent. The American major parties have been reluctant to renominate a defeated presidential candidate, and the reason is obvious. In modern American politics such candidates have never won. Both parties have experimented with previously defeated presidential candidates: the Republicans in 1948 with Governor Thomas Dewey who had been defeated in 1944; the Democrats with William J. Bryan who was defeated in 1900 and again in 1908, after suffering his first defeat in 1896.

It will not matter much with the party leaders that no Democratic candidate could have won this year. Henceforth the leaders of both parties will insist on a fresh candidate, one free from the obvious handicap of being once re-

jected by the voters. This attitude may well carry over to a defeated vice-presidential candidate, now that this office has been accepted, as it was in this campaign, as a stepping-stone to the presidency. A defeated vice-presidential candidate, especially one unable to carry his own state, will not appeal to the key president makers. Senator John Kennedy of Massachusetts, as he studied the election returns, probably was quite contented with the turn of events in the Democratic Convention.

## Keystones of Campaign

The President's popularity and his record of peace and prosperity were the keystones of the Republican campaign strategy and it worked out exceedingly well. The objective was clear: retain a large majority of the Democrats and the independents who had voted for Eisenhower in 1952. The campaign managers could afford to pay little attention to the regular Republicans whose votes could be counted on before the campaign started. And salt, not balm, was applied to the Republicans smarting from this rap, for the voters were asked to return Eisenhower to the White House for four more years to allow him

sufficient time to revamp the party.

The managers sought to place the President above the party (he disassociated himself from certain troublesome Senators) and encouraged the impression that he was a non-political President. They were successful in this maneuver. At the same time, Republican candidates, from senator to the local sheriff, associated themselves as closely as possible with the President as part of his team, expecting that they would ride in on the tide of victory. This, however, did not work.

At first, it was decided that the President would not "run" for office, but rather, in the British tradition, "stand" for office. A few television appearances would be the limit of his campaigning, while Vice-President Nixon would be entrusted with the major burden of the hustings. This part of the campaign strategy was soon changed. The Democrats got a fast start, encouraged by the early state elections in Maine which returned the first Catholic governor of that state to office in a decisive manner and gave them one of the state's three congressional seats. Then, it was soon discovered that the television (the President, I thought, looked poorly on the screen) has not as yet replaced the old type of American campaigning where the candidates visit cities and towns and shake the hands of as many voters (and non-voters) as possible. Besides, Stevenson forced Eisenhower to campaign. It could well be that this was devised to test the President's health. In any case, the change in strategy was a happy one.

The President aroused great enthusiasm by his visits, carefully arranged when large crowds were on the streets

(lunch hour and the end of the day). Stevenson had little crowd appeal. American voters like a good campaigner.

The strategy of the Democrats was sired by a different juncture of conditions. They were the larger party and during the past quarter of a century had attracted the larger number of independent voters. Could they persuade the mugwumps of 1925 to support Stevenson? Their case at the start of the campaign and even up to the last week was far from hopeless, as the hedging of the pollsters indicated. Maine, traditionally a national political barometer, indicated a Democratic year. The farmers were grumbling; labor was fairly solid behind them; the northern Negroes were still attached to the party. They had popular candidates running for the Senate and the gubernatorial offices.

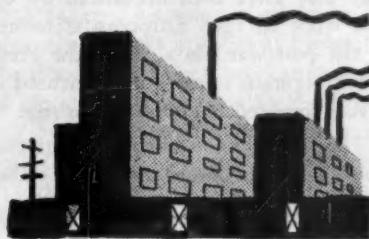
#### Paper Prospects Promising

On paper the prospects were promising: recapture the Southern and border states, traditionally Democratic, with their block of 158 votes; concentrate on the five states (Delaware, Rhode Island, Missouri, Washington, Maryland) which they lost in 1952 by small majorities ranging from 4,000 to 54,000; concentrate more on states nominally Democratic (like Massachusetts) and the states where the Republicans were hard pressed (as in Pennsylvania, Minnesota and Oregon). From these states would come the other needed 110 electoral votes.

The overwhelming defeat of Stevenson does not do justice to the strategy of the Democratic campaign managers. They counted on a decline of the President's popularity; this was generally predicted until the last week of the campaign. They concentrated on the

disaffected areas and discontented groups in these key northern, midwestern and western states; on the unemployed where they could be found (as in Pennsylvania where there were 240,000 jobless); on those who looked for more vigorous presidential leadership. They exploited grievances where they existed, as among the farmers and small business, and they expressed concern for the welfare of the little man and the old-age voters.

And they relied on the strong Democratic candidates for either the Senate



or governor to carry Stevenson to victory. One could notice during the campaign that some of these candidates were reluctant to associate their fate with the national ticket; they preferred to campaign on state issues. But one will also notice that of the key states named above, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Oregon, Rhode Island and Washington elected Democratic governors, and Oregon, Pennsylvania and Washington elected Democratic Senators. Stevenson lost all six of the states. Both Maine and the pollsters were right; it was a Democratic year—except for Stevenson.

The vote of the South has the Democratic party managers and many others wondering if this is the end of the one-party states below the Mason-Dixon line. The President not only retained the four states (Virginia, Florida, Ten-

nessee and Texas) he won four years ago but added Louisiana and the border states of Kentucky, Oklahoma and West Virginia. No one knows what will happen politically in the Southern states until the problem of integration has been settled. The majority of white Southerners are uncomfortable with their association with Northern Democrats who support a civil rights program; they know they will be equally uncomfortable in a Republican party reformed along the President's views; they realize there is no future in a regional third party. So they are baffled as to where to turn.

The Democratic strategists thought the South would turn to its traditional party this time and their reason for this assumption was not the popularity of Stevenson nor the presence of a Southerner on the ticket. The President, by his appointment of Warren to the Supreme Court, was generally blamed for the decision declaring segregation in schools unconstitutional. Determined to delay, if they could not prevent, integration in the schools, many die-hard obstructionists realized that their only hope of doing so rested in control of congressional committees. The South, then, must remain within the Democratic party and work for a Congress controlled by the Democrats. Southerners, on the score of seniority, would become chairmen of many of these powerful committees.

This reasoning overlooked some important factors. The appointment of Warren and the court decision on segregation pleased the Negroes and, where they had access to the polls, they manifested their approval by supporting the President. Furthermore, the attitude of Senator Byrd of Virginia was wide-

spread: indifference to the national ticket as long as the state government remained in the hands of approved Democrats.

It could well be that the strong support of Eisenhower in the southern and border states is an earnest of two-party states. But one must be slow to conclude that a vote for the popular President was a vote for the Republican party. When the vote in the Southern states is closely analyzed, one may discover that Eisenhower was strongly supported by Dixiecrat Democrats. If this is so, the Republicans have a weak foundation on which to build a party.

The issues were secondary in this campaign. The Republicans wanted it this way. It would be more accurate to say that the Republicans wanted to make the record of peace and prosperity under the guidance of a tremendously popular Republican the one and only issue. There was no desire to discuss the aspects of peace, the threats to peace. Eisenhower had terminated the Korean war; he had put an end to "daily casualty lists." This had a strong appeal to mothers with young families, to young married couples, to the six or more millions of young men who had reached their majority since 1952 and were casting their first vote in a national election.

The international crisis which suddenly developed during the last week of the campaign quickened the appeal to these groups; it also explains the increased plurality (instead of the expected slight decline) of Eisenhower over Stevenson. Campaign managers must henceforth pay more attention to the women voters and to the youth; there is little they can do about an international crisis.

The most important domestic issue really was the President's health. It was a valid and vital issue but it was agreed that it would not be debated. All agreed that the President of the United States must be a healthy, full-time executive; most would agree that any top executive of a large corporation would have been retired after suffering a severe heart attack. But it was a measure of the people's confidence in the man, however, that they took the President's word that he was physically able to discharge the burdens of the office. In this they may have been influenced by the able work of aged European statesmen in the post-war years. And the President's vigorous campaigning without ill effects removed the doubts of many.

The discussion and debate of international problems, problems closely linked



with the peace, were disappointing. The mood of the voters did not favor a debate; the party strategists sensed the mood and accommodated themselves to it. Despite all the Republican talk of peace, nothing was said, for example, about the build-up of communist forces in North Korea in violation of the armistice terms. The Republicans reluctantly debated Stevenson's proposal that the United States strive to regain world leadership by eliminating further H-bomb testing. The voters paid little attention to Stevenson when he scored

the disintegration of the Atlantic pact, the loss of prestige in the Middle East, the decline of American leadership in Europe and elsewhere.



Then suddenly in the week before election day a series of events underscored the reality of these international problems; it looked as if Europe was taking advantage of our preoccupation with national elections to achieve a *fait accompli*. Israel's invasion of Egypt (on the day the President was campaigning in Florida) was followed by the British and French intervention to protect the Suez Canal, an action undertaken without consulting and without even informing Washington. Next, the American resolution in the Security Council was supported by Soviet Russia and vetoed by Britain and France. And finally Russia ruthlessly crushed the Hungarian revolt against communist domination.

These clear manifestations of our weakness abroad, coming in the form of a crisis on the eve of the election, converted the President's certain election into a landslide. In critical times it was judged good to have a politically experienced general in the White House.

But, the crisis aside, the elections of 1956 underscored a new factor in American politics. The old party loyalty, which dictated a straight party vote, was disappearing. In the polling booth both Democrats and Republicans crossed party lines.

With nearly complete returns available (there are always absentee ballots to open and recounts to await), 34,750,946 Americans—57 per cent of the voters—indicated that they like Ike in the White House. The popular vote for Stevenson was (as I write) 25,427,361. The electoral vote was 407 (41 states) for Eisenhower, 74 (7 states) for Stevenson. The Democrats maintained their present control of the Senate (49-47); they picked up six additional seats in the House which next January will convene with 235 Democrat and 200 Republican congressmen.

### Notice

*Reprints of Father Harold L. Cooper's "Questions and Answers on Segregation" (from the last issue) are now available, to supply the growing demand. May we suggest that these reprints could be distributed to organizations, study clubs, friends, classes, persons who should know the Catholic views?*

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# The Large Family

Reflections on a neglected subject

JOHN L. THOMAS, S.J.

THE ECCENTRIC though perceptive Frenchman, Charles Peguy, once remarked that the fathers of large families were the real modern adventurers. How right he was millions of post-war parents can testify.

It takes courage and enterprise to raise a large family in the modern Western world. Under industrialized urban conditions, children become "mouths" rather than "hands." As society becomes more complex and technologically advanced, their formal education must be prolonged and made more highly specialized. At the same time, the promotion of better diets and health care for mothers and infants has necessarily rendered childbearing and child-rearing more costly for modern parents.

Although it is customary to pay lip-service to the family as the basic unit of society, the impact of the industrial revolution upon this social unit remained relatively neglected until re-

cently. With the exception of the excellent studies of Le Play and some pertinent observations of Comte in the last century, social scientists tended to take the family for granted. The impact of industrialization was analyzed and evaluated from many angles but the family, both in theory and in practice, was left to shift for itself.

Only when the social consequences of this neglect became apparent in falling birth rates and obvious family disorganization did social scientists turn to study the modern family. By this time cultural emphasis has shifted from the traditional, extended, large-family system to the modern isolated, small-family unit. As a result, most modern studies focused on the small conjugal unit composed of husband, wife and one or two offspring. This is the family type which came into prominence in America during the period between the two World Wars. The current "baby boom" gives some indication that

this type may be modified; it is still too early, however, to hazard any prediction of over-all trends.

Yet the large-family system has not disappeared from the American scene. In 1955 there were roughly 785,000 families with 6 children or more under 18 years of age and an additional 804,000 families with five children. The significance of these families is not



to be judged by their numbers alone. Although constituting only approximately 4 per cent of all U. S. families, they were raising approximately 17 per cent of the nation's children. We can state this significance in another way; of all the women between the ages of 45-49 in 1954 who had been married at some time of their lives, over 14 per cent had borne 5 or more children; of those 50 years and more, approximately one out of four had done so.

Hence an analysis of the large-family system is not without pertinence to an understanding of the modern American family. The recent publication of such a study by a well qualified family sociologist is an event worth noting.<sup>1</sup> For the first time, the large family is investigated as a way of life, a system

of child-rearing, a matrix for personality development. One or more members of one hundred large families (ranging in size from 6 to 16 children) volunteered to contribute the facts upon which this study was based.

### Exploratory Study

The families studied represent a variety of groups and backgrounds. They are mostly native-born white families, drawn from 23 states and the District of Columbia. More than half of the families grew up on farms or in small rural towns, the remainder coming from the city or the suburbs. Grouped according to religious preference, 63 were Protestant, 26 were Catholic, 3 were mixed Protestant-Catholic and 8 were Jewish. The fathers of these families were engaged in a wide range of occupation, although there was some preponderance in farming and small-town employment.

This is essentially an exploratory study. No claim is made that the hundred cases studied are representative of the American large-family population, and the number of cases in the various categories is generally too small to yield more than suggestive insights and hypotheses. Even though the conclusions of this study must all remain tentative, there appears little doubt that many features of large-family living and its possible meaning for child development have been brought to light.

The characteristic traits of the large-family system appear in many respects to be the direct opposite of those of the small family. Large families are usually not planned. Parenthood tends to be extensive rather than intensive. Growing up in such families makes for an

<sup>1</sup> James H. S. Bossard and Eleanor S. Boll, *The Large Family System: An Original Study in the Sociology of Family Behavior*. University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 1956.

early acceptance of the realities of life. Things are always happening in a large family; it is also peculiarly vulnerable to major crises occasioned by sickness, death and parental irresponsibility. Large-family living tends to place emphasis on the group rather than on the individual, thus calling for organization and leadership on the part either of the parents or the older children. Conformity is valued above self-expression; cooperation with other members is learned early.

### Certain Benefits

Of necessity, discipline is stressed in the large family. This is executed by parents, siblings or both. Oversolicitous mothers are rare. Children assume specialized roles in accordance with their birth order and sex; this early specialization is an important factor in the shaping of personality. Other things remaining equal, child-rearing appears more balanced and sane in the large family. Children learn to come to terms with life, to work with and for others. It is suggested that children raised in large families make their best occupational adjustment when working with large groups.

Although most of the people interviewed pointed out the many benefits resulting from being reared in a large family, over two-thirds indicated that economic pressures, lack of space and irresponsible parents served to counterbalance these compensations. In the light of their attitudes, it is interesting to note that children raised in large families did not themselves tend to have large families. There may be many reasons for this. It is possible, for example, that the families studied are wholly unrepresentative of large fam-

ilies in general; the authors' findings, however, are conclusive for the families studied.

This enlightening analysis of the large family system spells out in some detail the relationship between numbers and the complexity and quality of familial interaction. An increase in members multiplies the number of possible intra-family relationships, while the inherent demands of the large-family system, as a going concern, specify the modes of interaction to a considerable degree. Whether intended or not, the system requires cooperation, consideration for others and the ability to get along with members of the group. Furthermore, comparison and competition tend to take place between family members rather than with the children of relatives or neighbors as is the case in the small-sized family. The consequences of this difference have never been studied. It is suggestive to note, however, that the assumed increase of "outer-directedness" and "groupthink" mentality of our times has followed the shift to the small-sized family in this country.

Are large families preferable? On the basis of this study, an affirmative answer would have to be clearly qualified. There are advantages to having a large family, but there remain rational limitations which must be considered. Specifically, family size should bear some correspondence to the economic circumstances of the parents. More important, it should be related to the capacities for parenthood in the particular family. "Good family life is never an accident but always an achievement by those who share it. Growing up is life's most unique experience; being a parent is life's most important responsibility." (p. 321)

# The Legal Profession and Segregation

A most formidable challenge to the intellectual vigor, moral courage and genuine patriotism of the legal profession

WILLIAM J. KENEALY, S.J.

The philosophy of American Democracy is expressed in two immortal documents: the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States. The two are inseparable. For, although the Declaration of Independence is not part of the organic law of the land, it is in truth the vital spirit and thought of which the Constitution is the operative body and letter. Now the vital spirit and thought of our living philosophy of government and law is epitomized in the familiar words of the Declaration:

We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed.

According to this philosophy, government is not an end in itself, but a

*Sermon preached in the cathedral of New Orleans to the members of the Louisiana bench and bar on the occasion of the Red Mass, traditionally offered for the sanctification of the new court year.*

means to an end. And the end of government is not merely the establishment of order; for order itself is a means and its end is justice. But justice also is a means and its end is liberty. Finally, liberty is simply the condition of social life necessary to enable all members of society to cooperate in peace and prosperity, to attain their happiness, to achieve their perfection and thereby to fulfill their human destiny.

Thus, the real end of government is adequately defined as a just and ordered liberty. But the essence of liberty is the free exercise by every human being of the rights proper to human personality and destiny. Wherefore, the prime purpose of government is the protection of the individual in the exercise of his personal rights. Therefore, the crucial test of the value of a government is the measure of its success in protecting the personal rights of its citizens and subjects.

Now the characteristic feature of democratic government, as distinguished from other forms of government, is that it is rule by the majority.

But contrary to a popular modern fallacy, true democracy is not a mere matter of form. It is much more than majority rule. Majority rule could be mob rule. Remember a distressed Italian people, flooding the piazzas of Rome, crying "Duce! Duce! Duce!" They cried for a leader and got a demagogue. Remember a bewildered German people, crowding the squares of Berlin, shouting "Heil Hitler!" and voting for Adolph Schicklgruber. They shouted for a fuehrer and elected a tyrant. Who ever received greater majorities than Joseph Stalin? No, there is no magic in mere forms. And mere majority rule is capable of establishing a tyranny as atrocious as that of any Oriental despot. Hence, democracy, as mere majority rule, would be a faceless and spineless philosophy of government and of law.

### **Minority Rights Essential**

On the contrary, because the essence of liberty is the freedom to exercise individual and equal personal rights and because voting majorities are able and quick to vindicate their own rights, true and effective democracy must consist in minority rights under majority rule. But never in history has there been, and never in the future can there be, minority rights under majority rule unless the majority repudiates the blasphemy that numbers make truth and that might makes right; unless the majority has the intelligence and good-will to subordinate will to reason and to subjugate prejudice to judgment; unless the majority faces and accepts the fact that there is an objective moral order, within the range of human intelligence and within the capacity of human virtue, to which

civil societies and voting majorities are bound in conscience to conform—and upon which the liberty, the peace and happiness of personal, national and international life depend.

The mandatory aspect of the objective moral order is called by philosophers the natural law. In virtue of the natural law, essentially equal human beings are endowed by their Creator with natural rights and obligations, which are inalienable precisely because they are God-given. They are antecedent, therefore, both in logic and in nature to the formation of civil societies and the casting of majority ballots. They are not bestowed by the beneficence of any state, democratic or otherwise; wherefore the tyranny of any state, democratic or otherwise, cannot destroy them. Rather it is the high moral obligation of all civil societies and all voting majorities to acknowledge their existence, to protect their exercise and to facilitate their enjoyment by the construction and maintenance of a civil code of laws which embraces, complements and applies the principles of the natural law to civic life.

In its essence, granted the existence of Almighty God, the natural law is a simple thing. It is man's participation in the eternal law of God. It implies that we know, independently of Lafayette Square, or Baton Rouge, or Washington, or London, or Moscow—or of the Vatican, for that matter—that all human beings, without exception, are the children of God, endowed with immortal souls, destined for eternal life, bound in conscience to pursue that destiny, and possessed of equal and inalienable rights to enable

us to do so. It implies that we know from our God-created nature that some things help in attaining our destiny and some make it more difficult; that some actions and some institutions are right and some wrong, regardless of material consequences. It implies that human governments and laws are instituted and administered by us to safeguard the personal rights of every single member of the brotherhood of men, so that each and all of us may attain in human dignity the divine destiny decreed by the One Good God Who is the loving Father of us all.

### Basis for Rights

Thus, the philosophy of the natural law provides a rational and spiritual basis for our civil rights and liberties. It gives an adequate reason for the essential equality of all men. It supplies a sufficient measure for the essential dignity of human personality. It tells us why the Chinese coolie is the equal of the Roman cardinal; the Australian bushman, the equal of the European diplomat; the African tribesman, the equal of the American financier; because they and all of us, white and black and red and brown and yellow, have been created by the One God for intimate association with Him in perfect happiness for all eternity.

Such is the glorious destiny which measures the essential dignity of every man. Such is the common destiny which explains the essential equality of every man; an essential equality which makes rather ridiculous the pride and prejudice based on our accidental and temporary differences, be they physical, intellectual, economic, social or racial. Such is the awesome destiny which gives intelligibility to our constitu-

tional principle of freedom and equality; and which demands, not merely decent human freedom and equality, but reverential respect and genuine brotherly love for every single person on the face of God's earth, regardless of race or creed or color or national origin.

This is the philosophy of the natural law. It is not sanctimonious sentimentality. It is not the insubstantial mist of wishful theory. It is the only solid soil of human freedom and equality. It is the philosophy upon which this nation was founded and to which this nation by its most solemn covenants and usages is dedicated. It is the philosophy upon which the people of the United States ordained and established a Federal Constitution. Despite the cynics and secularists in some academic halls, the glory of the American Constitution is that, for the first time in history, a great people formally and expressly made human rights the cornerstone of its political structure—and did so in a solemn profession of politico-religious faith. What a man is before God, that he is before the Constitution of this country.

But ideals must be put to work. General principles alone do not decide particular cases. Neither a philosophy nor a constitution is self-executing. A constitution needs legislative implementation, executive enforcement and judicial interpretation. Moreover, from time to time, it may need substantial change. To provide for substantial change, we did ordain and establish Article V of the Constitution, defining the only lawful process of constitutional amendment. To provide for judicial interpretation, we did ordain

and establish Article III of the Constitution, creating one Supreme Court, conferring upon it alone final judicial power to decide all cases in law and equity arising under the Constitution and the Amendments. Wherefore, subject only to the lawful process of constitutional amendment, the prevailing decisions of the Supreme Court are the authoritative interpretations of the supreme law of the land. As such, they command our loyal obedience and bind all private citizens and public agencies. For American liberty is not lawless license but it is the responsible liberty of free men living under God and the law.

I have said the "prevailing" decisions of the Supreme Court because, with all proper deference to the principle of *stare decisis*, the very nature of the judicial process postulates the reversal of a prior judicial precedent whenever, in the best judgment of the Court, such a reversal is necessary to correct previous error, or to interpret more accurately the meaning and to apply more effectively the purpose of constitutional provisions. Reversal of a judicial precedent may be necessitated extrinsically by the impact of changing political, economic, technological or social conditions in a complex and dynamic society; or intrinsically, by the evolution of a clearer understanding and deeper appreciation of the moral and social values already implicit in the constitutional provisions themselves.

This will always be true, at least until such time as society ceases to grow, knowledge ceases to advance and the Supreme Court becomes infallible—*quod Deus avertat!*

The reversal of the 1896 "separate but equal" doctrine of *Plessy v. Ferguson*,

son, by the 1954 decisions in *Brown v. The Board of Education* and *Bolling v. Sharpe*, was principally owing, it seems, to the evolution of a clearer understanding and a deeper appreciation of the moral and social values which were always implicit in the equal protection clause of the 14th and the due process clause of the 5th Amendments. But whatever be the explanation, this much is certain: in the *Brown* and *Bolling* de-



cisions the Supreme Court we established, exercising the powers we conferred, interpreting the Constitution we ordained, enunciated its authoritative interpretation of constitutional freedom and equality and applied the same to the difficult problem of racial segregation. The segregation decisions are binding, therefore, on all private persons and public agencies; but, *a fortiori*, they command the loyal obedience of those who are honored and privileged as members of the bench and bar, to be the officers and the agents of the courts in administering justice and preserving liberty under the supreme law of the land. Ours is not merely the obligations of citizenship; ours is also a sacred responsibility of leadership. To defend the majesty of the law is our professional honor. To this exalted task lawyers are solemnly sworn and dedicated.

I do not wish to imply, of course, that our obligation of loyal obedience to the Supreme Court precludes adverse

criticism of its decisions. For freedom of speech is a constitutional liberty. The Supreme Court itself is its vigorous champion. Justices of the Court frequently have been the Court's severest critics. Many men of good will, however, are greatly perplexed by the merits of the segregation problem and profoundly disturbed by the violence of the controversy it has aroused. Without question, there is an alarming danger in the current controversy. That danger, however, does not arise from freedom of speech, but rather from a grave threat to its exercise. That threat, as it becomes daily more evident, consists in the ominous climate of fear produced by intemperate partisanship and unrestrained passions, penetrating into the home, the office, the shop, the school, the store, the club, the playground and even the church.

I mean the fear in the hearts of many citizens, and not a few of the legal profession, who have honest and reasoned opinions about segregation, but who are afraid or hesitant to express them, lest they or their families suffer unjust political, economic, professional or social reprisals. I sympathize sincerely with their fear; but I admire all the more those who have had the fortitude to speak and the courage to stand up and be counted. The success of the democratic process is predicated upon intelligent conviction courageously expressed.

The obligation of loyal obedience to the Supreme Court does not preclude, of course, honest and reasonable efforts to reverse its decisions by the lawful process of constitutional amendment defined in Article V of the Constitution. But it does preclude the employment of tactics of evasion and defiance,

based on obsolete and unconstitutional theories of interposition and nullification.

Where, for instance, is the loyal obedience of the lawyer who would counsel, encourage, persuade or incite his fellow citizens to violate the supreme law of the land? Where is the loyal obedience of the lawyer who would lend the skill of his draftsmanship and advocacy to the enactment of a statute which he knows to be unconstitutional and which provides criminal penalties against citizens who desire to respect the supreme law of the land? Where is the loyal obedience, or even the elemental sense of self-respect, in the lawyer-legislator who would knowingly lobby and vote for such a statute, and then cynically explain to one of his minority constituents, "Oh, well, it's unconstitutional anyway!"? When such things happen, and they do happen, why should we be surprised at the evidently growing disrespect and distrust, not merely for the legal profession but for the law itself? The law is a majestic structure of principles. The legal profession is their sworn guardian. Neither the law nor the profession nor the public is well served by the lawyer who stands by, alerted to pressure, ready, able and willing to jettison principle for selfish and cowardly expediency.

Subject always to the obligations of loyal obedience to the Supreme Court, to the requirements of constitutional procedure and to the fairness and courtesy of civilized debate, let us exercise without fear or favor the constitutional right of free and open speech on this controversial issue of compulsory segregation. It would be a substantial public service if the legal profession in

appreciable numbers would assume its traditional role of leadership in public affairs by demonstrating the way of calm and dispassionate, and therefore fruitful, controversy.

### Calm Discussion Needed

It would clear the air of public fear and create a healthy climate of discussion, if members of the bar could dissuade the misguided and discourage the malicious from the reckless use of insulting epithets and the irresponsible imputation of improper motives—which run the gamut, apparently, from trivia to treason. A really free, truly fair and calmly intellectual discussion on the merits of the issue is demanded by the grave importance of the fundamental principles involved and by the enormous impact of compulsory segregation on the daily lives of millions of our fellow American citizens. I believe that such a discussion would lead to agreement on the basis and meaning of the fundamental principles involved; and that such agreement on principles would eventually lead the majority of the legal profession, at least, to concur with the United States Supreme Court that compulsory segregation is completely incompatible with the fundamental constitutional principles which support our proud American way of life. Surely, the realization and perfection of that way of life is our common purpose.

The fundamental principles of the natural law as here outlined are obviously incompatible with compulsory segregation unless the Negro is not a man; or, if he is a man, then an essentially inferior man; or, if he is not an essentially inferior man, then an accidentally inferior man, whose accidental

inferiorities unfit him, as a Negro, for free association with the allegedly superior white man.

Human knowledge has advanced to the point where the burden of proving the alleged inferiorities of the Negro is upon those who assert them. That the Negro is a man, essentially equal to the white man, is a clear and certain truth, objectively demonstrated by philosophical argumentation, experimentally verified by scientific investigation and universally accepted by the common consent of mature and civilized society. That the Negro is not an accidentally inferior man whose accidental inferiorities unfit him, as a Negro, for free association with the allegedly superior white man is also an objective certainty, established by philosophical considerations of his nature and destiny; corroborated by the overwhelming evidence of the anthropological, biological, psychological and sociological sciences; and conceded by the vast majority of thoughtful men the world over.

It has been argued to the contrary, however, that the Negro is inferior to the white man in his standards of health, intelligence, culture and morality; and, therefore, the compulsory segregation of the Negro is a reasonable exercise of the police power of the state.

The first answer to this argument, of course, is that compulsory segregation is not based on any standards of health, intelligence, culture or morality, but simply and solely on race. The Negro of robust health, refined intelligence, gentle culture and heroic virtue must still sit in the back of the bus, while the most diseased, stupid, uncouth and immoral white man must ride in front. The second answer to this argument is

that the statistics offered in its support do not prove what they purport to prove. They show, in point of fact, that many Negroes are in fact less healthy, less intelligent and less law-abiding than many white men. But the statistics do not prove that the Negro, as a Negro, has a lower potential for health, a lower aptitude for education or a smaller capacity for virtue than the white man who lives in a similar environment.

### Cruel and Cynical Logic

The statistics do show that many Negroes are in fact handicapped severely in reducing their potential to actuality, their aptitude to achievement, their capacity to fulfillment by the sub-standard physical, economic, educational and social environment in which they are compelled to live. Compulsory segregation is the most extreme method employed by racial discrimination to force the Negro to live in the sub-standard environment which it has created. Ironically, the statistics offered in support of segregation constitute powerful evidence against it. Surely, it is a cruel and cynical logic which argues for segregation from the very evils it has produced.

By their fruits you shall know them. Compulsory segregation is the bitterest fruit of so-called "racial supremacy," an obsolete and exploded doctrine false in theory and vicious in practice. It is not without significance that two of the most prominent antagonists of the Supreme Court, both governors of sovereign states, in arguing recently for segregation, one in a national magazine and the other on a national television program, made use of the expression

"mongrelization of the race." How could such an expression, with its degrading canine implication, escape the lips of anyone who sincerely believes that human beings, as human beings, are possessed of personal dignity, entitled to reverential respect and deserving of brotherly love?

There are some who disavow the racial supremacy nonsense but argue, nevertheless, that compulsory segregation is not "*per se*" unjust or uncharitable; and, therefore, the old "separate but equal" doctrine is still a reasonable exercise of the police powers of the state. The first answer to this argument, of course, is that the "separate but equal" facilities of *Plessy v. Ferguson* never were, are not now and—in view of the tragic experience of the years—never in the future will be even remotely "equal." The "*per se*" argument is an abstraction contemplating itself in a vacuum. It prescinds from the facts of life. It ignores the real problem in its real moral and social context. The facts of life are that compulsory segregation is the product of the mentality of "racial supremacy," a mentality which is still deep and widespread and which, in a vicious psychological circle, draws strength and "respectability" from the legal blessing it received in the "separate but equal" doctrine of *Plessy v. Ferguson*. Separate facilities are "inherently unequal," because the matrix and context of separation is belief in the inequality of the separated.

The second answer to the "*per se*" argument is that, even supposing the contrary-to-fact hypothesis of equal facilities, compulsory segregation would still be objectively wrong; because it would still be contrary to the natural

unity which impels human beings to associate in organized society for their common good; because it would still violate the political and social unity of organized society which is demanded, in both justice and charity, by the essential equality and natural dignity of human personality.

Peripheral to the main issue but of serious civic importance is the question of the spiritual damage segregation has done and is still doing to those who force it upon their fellow citizens, both Negro and white. For injustice has a subtle way of reversing its impact, spiritually, from the oppressed to the oppressor. Peripheral also, but of momentous international importance, is the question of the diplomatic damage segregation has done and is still doing to our American aspirations to the moral leadership of the free world. We must practice what we preach. A busy and effective section of Soviet Russia's propaganda machine will collapse if and when we decide sincerely and efficaciously to obey the supreme law of the land as enunciated by the United States Supreme Court.

The segregation issue constitutes, in my opinion, a most formidable challenge to the intellectual vigor, the moral courage and the genuine patriotism of the legal profession.

The position of the Catholic Church has been clearly and courageously stated by His Excellency, the Archbishop of New Orleans. The philosophy of the natural law has always been embraced and elevated by the theology of the Church Universal. Popes, archbishops, bishops, dogmatic and moral theologians, the unanimous judgment of the teaching Church is that com-

pulsory segregation is objectively and morally wrong. It is a cancer in the body politic. It is a desecration of Christian civilization.

We like to think that God is on the side of our American way of life; but it is true only to the extent that our American way of life is on the side of Him Who said, "I am the way, the truth and the life." In the eyes of God there is neither white nor black nor red nor yellow nor brown; neither Jew nor Gentile nor barbarian nor Scythian; but all are brothers in Christ Jesus. "By this will all men know that you are my disciples, if you have love one for another."

## **Time for Gifts!**

Many true friends and readers of **SOCIAL ORDER** like to send out gift subscriptions at Christmas and other seasons. One active grandmother in a Midwest city sent three 3-year subscriptions to a university professor who was interested in sound social thought, a former vice-president and her son's family. Others send **SOCIAL ORDER** to their pastors and to legislators and libraries.

You can send introductory subscriptions yourself— see the yellow order-form insert for special rates. Do it now.—Thanks!

# BOOKS

**THE SOCIOLOGY OF INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS.**—By John P. Knox. Random House, New York, 1955, xv, 348 pp. \$5.00.

Professor Knox has turned out a highly recommendable introduction to industrial sociology for both students and practitioners of industrial relations.

The volume constitutes an alternative to the popular case method of study which often results in confusion because discussion of cases becomes bogged down in terminological and conceptual difficulties. There is no lack of case material but Knox supplies a clear and simple—not oversimplified—framework for understanding the human structure and functioning of industry in terms of a social system. Industrial problems, as such, are not at all slighted by this treatment but are seen as part of the larger whole. In this framework a wealth of pertinent and up-to-date material is arrayed in orderly and meaningful fashion, giving a degree of penetration too rare in introductory texts.

Part I sets up the basic concepts, while Part II analyzes the worker-management relationship within industry conceived as a social system (the worker emerges as a complex "bio-psycho-social" being and the manager as "relationship specialist"). Inasmuch as the relationship is not closed, Part III relates industry and community and Part IV, industry and society. Thus there is a continuous enlargement of the social system concept providing an holistic context for particular phenomena.

Unfortunate perhaps is his use of equilibrium, balance of disrupting and integrating forces, as a focal point for the analysis of the three levels of social system. This is certainly a moving equilibrium for Knox, but there is the unstated assumption that equilibrium as opposed to *anomie* is "good" and should be maintained. The problem of to what extent any level of social system can continuously adapt to change (without there arising fundamental contradictions

among its basic premises) certainly remains a real one and here is by-passed for the apparent challenge of preserving the equilibrium of modern industrial society.

R. W. FAULHABER  
De Paul University

**SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY IN FARM LEADERSHIP.**—By Walter W. Wilcox. Harper, New York, 1956, xi, 194 pp. \$3.

One of the studies on ethics and economic life sponsored by the National Council of Churches, this volume is timely, authoritative and conveniently brief.

The first half of the work brings into sharp focus, in their relevant economic and ethical context, the major problems confronting farm people and their leaders. The second part presents a firm though charitable judgment of the performance of farm leadership in dealing with these problems.

Of particular interest at this time is Dr. Wilcox's account of the differences in basic point of view which separate the chief farm organizations and which lead at times to unfortunate and even scandalous hostility towards each other.

The contrast is sharpest between the Farm Bureau and the Farmers Union. The Farm Bureau leaders have continually emphasized their faith in the long-run efficacy of the free market, with a minimum of government regulation of assistance, to achieve both prosperity and equity for the farmer. In the conflict they understand to exist between "freedom" and "security" they strongly favor the former. In sharp distinction, the Farmers Union has little confidence in the unregulated market and questions both its equity and its economic efficiency. Its leaders, therefore, have less fear of government regulation and look for a more conscious di-

rection of farm policy towards goals of both general and particular welfare.

One fact which this study makes painfully clear is that, with a few notable exceptions, farm leaders have not devoted any serious effort to educating their members towards an understanding of the common good and of the good of particular groups other than their own. Neither have they used their considerable power in Washington and the state capitols to help work out solutions to the problems of migratory labor, tenants, sharecroppers and the hundreds of thousands of other disadvantaged farm families.

In fact, the key issue raised by Dr. Wilcox is this: "If the responsibility of organized groups is limited to their membership, who in our democracy should assume responsibility for the unorganized groups?" This question, obviously, deserves serious consideration, particularly by any general farm organization which claims to speak for all agriculture.

JAMES L. VIZZARD, S.J.  
National Catholic Rural  
Life Conference

**THE SOCIAL IDEAS OF ALLEN TATE.—**  
**By Willard Burdett Arnold. Humphries,**  
**Boston, 1955, 64 pp. \$2.75.**

The author analyzes Allen Tate, Southern poet of *The Fugitive*, the poetry magazine of intellectuals who banded together in a literary and philosophical movement shortly after World War I. In the period of post-war disillusionment and "Main Street" cynicism men like David Donaldson, Alec Brook Stevenson, Robert Penn Warren, as well as Tate, turned for their model of conduct and ideas to the antebellum ideals of agrarian economics and intellectual leisure, posing this culture as a foil against the hurried pace of the industrial capitalist who, they felt, did not have time for the contemplation of literature and art.

With biographical ingenuity, the author traces Tate's social ideas from his acceptance of the antebellum South as a point of reference that he later gave up, through his concept of agrarian economy, of art as a kind of religion, to his final conversion to Roman Catholicism. The reader will be fascinated in watching the course of a sensitive, never satisfied mind as it moves,

always seeking, accepting and rejecting systems, religions and philosophical concepts as each in turn falls short. Any reader of history or biography will be caught by the author's precision in a carefully documented book.

F. JAMES WETZEL, S.J.  
West Baden College

**FOUNTAIN OF JUSTICE: A Study in the  
Natural Law.—By John C. H. Wu.**  
**Sheed and Ward, New York, 1955, 281  
pp. \$3.75.**

Dr. John Wu, who has an impressive legal background, addresses his book not only to lawyers "but also to educated people with no special knowledge of the law." This necessitates a 50-page introduction on the philosophy of law—divine, natural, human. He gladly announces his debt to the Holy Scriptures and to St. Thomas and in his typical and delightful manner says, "I shall be more than grateful if Christianity is not ashamed of me."

One of his main theses is Maritain's: "Only when the Gospel has penetrated to the very depth of human substance will natural law appear in its flower and perfection." Dr. Wu's proof of this thesis, if less carefully worked out than Maritain's, possesses nevertheless a personal rigor and appeal due to the detailed historical examination in Part One of the natural law as seen in the rise of common law in its "old home" (England) and in the rise of common law in its "new home" (the United States). Wu notes among the vicissitudes of natural law philosophy especially the impact of 19th century rationalism, which taught a mechanistic and materialistic interpretation of natural law. Thus he shows a great paradox in American jurisprudence: "As one studies the cases on social legislation, one will find that, as a general rule the judges who used the name of the natural law have rendered wrong decisions, while the judges who were sceptical of the natural law have reached results which coincide with the conclusions of the two great encyclicals: *Rerum Novarum* and *Quadragesimo Anno*." (p. 141) There is, accordingly, sincere and reasonable praise for the "cynical acid" of Justice Holmes when applied to the economic

doctrine of laissez-faire and other "over-assertions of the dogmatists."

What comes clear in Dr. Wu's exposition is an appreciation of the indispensable role of the virtue of prudence in the contingencies of application of the principle of natural law to common law and to the judicial process. Without prudence the doctrine of natural law will be turned either into a lifeless and inhuman positivism or into a chameleon-like relativism.

The second half of the book, entitled "In the School of Christ," sketches the influence that Christ and His teachings have had upon the building up of the common law. Perhaps one might take Dr. Wu to task for a bouncy over-enthusiasm about the accomplishments of Christianity in the fields of natural and common law. A fairer estimate is that, though Dr. Wu does not give in to useless hand-wringing and composing litanies of legal woes, he is ruggedly realistic; his vision does not focus on some past legal golden-age but looks and hopes for a continuing growth in our knowledge of natural law and its more perfect implementation in our common law.

W. H. KENNEY, S.J.  
Saint Louis University

A JOHN LAFARGE READER.—Edited by Thurston N. Davis and Joseph Small. America Press, New York, 1956, 272 pp. \$3.50.

About this book of three dozen essays, articles and editorials there is an underlying note of hope, with a strong sense of God's providence in the affairs of the world. Thus the book has a double value, a double significance. None of the selections is a full scholarly treatment. In the time span of 25 years which they cover, there has been little leisure for a journalist deeply interested in such subjects as art and literature, religion, the Church and the world around, social thought and social action, Russia and the communists, human relations and history.

This easy-reading collection does more than give comments on daily developments. The essays composed as journalistic chores furnish interesting sidelights on this Jesuit journalist.

One is amazed at the extent and variety of subjects which have interested Father

LaFarge. One is pleased to see the depth of this multiple interest.

Involvement in human problems and programs for more than a quarter of a century has taught Father LaFarge that no one can sit back and wait for a solution to appear. "Waiting for the right time" has never produced much fruit. Thus Father LaFarge has built up a distinct philosophy of action, with results that provide a measuring stick for all of us.

This reviewer would like to have seen included the analysis of race relations in the American Catholic Church which appeared originally in *Survey Graphic*, January, 1949.

RAYMOND BERNARD, S.J.

CHRISTIAN ETHICS: SOURCES OF THE LIVING TRADITION.—Edited with Introductions by Waldo Beach and H. Richard Niebuhr. Ronald Press, New York, 1955, viii, 496 pp. \$5.

Today many Protestants view almost with horror the Catholic practice of presenting ethics as a science of morality distinct from the teachings of Holy Scripture. Moreover, the history of ethical theory within Catholicism itself has often been and perhaps still is marked by strife between those who would reject the teaching of a natural ethics in favor of exclusive concern with moral *theology* and those who maintain there is place for a moral *philosophy* in liberal education.

*Christian Ethics* is a good example of a Protestant position on this question. Waldo Beach is professor of Christian Ethics at Duke University and H. Richard Niebuhr is Sterling Professor of Theology and Christian Ethics at Yale. Their division of labor indicates the contents of the work: Niebuhr wrote an "Introduction to Biblical Ethics" and was responsible for the selection of material and an accompanying introduction to sections on Martin Luther, John Calvin and Jonathan Edwards. Beach supervised the matter dealing with the ethics of the early Christian church, Clement of Alexandria, Augustine, the ethics of monasticism and mysticism, Thomas Aquinas and scholasticism, Puritanism and Quakerism, John

Butler and Anglican rationalism, John Welsey, Søren Kierkegaard, Walter Rauschenbusch and a final chapter on current trends.

It is clear that in such a cross-section of material there is an admitted multiplicity in selection. As it appears to these editors, however, a certain integrity may be attributed to "Christian ethics," which cuts across denominational lines. They derive an underlying unity in this variety from a "certain shared faith about the nature of God as Ultimate Reality and man's proper response to him." This norm, while useful in giving some unity to this anthology, fails to supply much guidance as to the meaning of either "ethics" or "Christian."

For students in Protestant colleges and seminaries the book may serve as a stage along the road toward more basic problems involving the relation between reason and revelation and a better concept of the authority of a divinely-appointed teacher as its functions in the development of dogma in a living Church. For the most part, however important it may be in individual lives, "Christian ethics" is too narrow and artificial a viewpoint for the matter under examination. The readings are simply too large in theological scope and historical implications to fit the narrow framework in which they are assembled.

JOHN E. GURR, S.J.  
Seattle University

## LETTERS

### Keller "Case"

I have enjoyed reading "The Case against the Keller 'Case,'" by Gladys W. Gruenberg (November, p. 440).

Has the author of this essay-review published other articles, and can you give me a list of them together with some facts about the author?

WILLIAM J. MILROY  
Chicago

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From time to time she has reviewed books on labor economics for SOCIAL ORDER.

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### Politics and Public Relations

Your recent review of Stanley Kelley's new book, *Professional Public Relations*

and *Political Power* (October, p. 404), indicates the growing awareness of public relations activity on the part of political and social scientists. Certainly the reverse has long been true—the more competent exponents of public relations have long known and drawn benefit from the findings of social researchers.

As a person who makes his living in public relations, I'd like to offer a few observations, founded on personal experience.

1. Paul Heffron says, "not all factions in our society will be able to afford the luxury of a public relations firm to sell their program."

In a sense, this statement reflects some confusion between the functions of P.R. and advertising. P.R. and product advertising differ considerably in tone, method and approach. As a rule, the more advanced P.R. specialists emphasize ethical performance in the public interest, and honest information and education programs, to tell an organization's story properly to the interested audience.

Product advertising, on the other hand, is rarely indirect and low-pressure in its

approach. This method, which sells products rather than ideas, tends to emphasize saturation use of all major media—press, radio and TV.

Aside from the possible confusion between ethical P.R. and straightforward product advertising, it should be noted that the latter approach is being primarily used in the present national election campaign. In my opinion, the "product sell" method will fail because it is not suited to the communication of ideas and to the discussion of issues.

It should also be recognized that there are many public relations people who regularly offer considerable free time and service to groups which normally could not "afford such a luxury." I know many P.R. men and women who contribute much effort to charities, private schools, political organizations (Democratic and Republican) and other nonprofit groups.

In my opinion, free P.R. talent is ready and available in many quarters, if interested parties merely contact them and solicit volunteer support. Through such professional bodies as the Public Relations Society of America, P.R. people are being encouraged to repay their debt to society in terms of public service. In short, the political or economic scales need not be tipped in favor of interests that alone can afford to underwrite special pleaders.

2. While P.R. specialists may be supplanting local machine bosses in many instances, this can in no way absolve political candidates from responsibility for campaign utterances or electioneering techniques. Of course, the specialist might

be morally at fault when he neglects to advise *against* unscrupulous campaign practices. The P.R. man would be obviously to blame if he advised devious practices, in a positive way.

3. Jack Gould's Oct. 28 TV column in the *N. Y. Times* brought up some interesting points that might allay fears about "mass communications" in general. He pointed out that there is strong (and increasing) public resistance to canned political commercials on television, which chiefly sticks to entertainment rather than election news analysis anyway. While the idea of an automatic mass-communication conversion of voters is attractive to many in our society, electioneering is largely waged from the speaker's platform and in local newspapers; campaigns are won on the ward and community level. With decentralization accelerating in America, local political infighting should expand in importance.

The Tydings-Butler senatorial race of 1950 documents how public relations can be used for sordid ends; "merchandising doubt" was a key element in this below-the-belt campaign. This race merely emphasizes that there are charlatans, Machiavellians and eccentrics in public relations, as well as good men. Students of human nature should not be surprised at this case history. Practitioners of P.R. should try to eliminate future occurrences of this kind.

4. Perhaps social scientists will dispute this, but I believe that the American people is becoming more sophisticated, literate and discriminating because of a variety of factors (education, films, books, *et al.*). I think this mitigates any quick, mechanized success on the part of propaganda campaigns to standardize public opinion. P.R. specialists seem to agree that it has become quite difficult to communicate ideas and make long-lasting impressions, mostly because of the vast competition between a myriad of conflicting voices in our society.

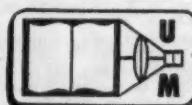
I find *SOCIAL ORDER* very stimulating and informative, supplying a perspective on current trends that can rarely be found elsewhere.

PAUL GAVAGHAN

Yonkers, N. Y.

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